Message Text

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17

ACTION EA-14

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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SUBJECT: CORRECTION ON TSENG SZU-YU APPEARANCES: MORE ON HUPEH

PEASANT'S CONGRESS

REF: HONG KONG 12852

SUMMARY. THE HUPEH PEASANT'S CONGRESS PRODUCED SOME ANOMALIES THAT COULD POINT TO TROUBLE FOR THE LEADERSHIP THERE. POLITBURO MEMBER CHEN YUNG-JUEI'S SPEECH ALLUDED TO POST-LIN PIAO CRITICISM OF THE REGIME. PROVINCE CHIEF TSENG SZU-YU WAS ABSENT FOR CHEN'S VISIT BUT HIS CONGRESS SPEECH WAS ALSO PUBLISHED, SUGGESTING THAT HIS STATUS IS STILL VIABLE. END SUMMARY.

1. OUR RECORDS WERE IN ERROR ON TSENG SZU-YU AND THE ASSESSMENT OF HIS STATUS REPORTED IN REFTEL SHOULD BE AMENDED ACCORDINGLY. TSENG DID APPEAR FOR THE OPENING SESSION OF THE HUPEH PEASANT CONGRESS ON DECEMBER 5 (HUPEH RADIO DECEMBER 6). THIS APPRECIABLY WEAKENS THE CASE WE THOUGHT WE HAD FOR COUNTING HIM AS A VICTIM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

- 2. ON THE OTHER HAND, ADDITIONAL PIECES OF INFORMATION ON EVENTS AT THE HUPEH CONGRESS HAVE NOW APPEARED, AND DEVELOPMENTS CONTINUE TO SUGGEST THAT TSENG HAS PROBLEMS. HUPEH RADIO DECEMBER 20 BROADCAST AN EXTRACT FROM POLITBURO MEMBER CHEN YUNG-KUEI'S DECEMBER 17 SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS AND HIS REMARKS ARE THE MOST POLITICAL IN SUBSTANCE AND CRITICAL IN TONE WE HAVE SEEN ASCRIBED TO HIM IN HIS MANY PROVINCIAL APPEARANCES OVER THE LAST YEAR. HE WARNS THE CADRE THAT THEY MUST RECTIFY THEIR STYLE OF WORK, AND IN PARTICULAR THAT THEY MUST ACCEPT CRITICISM FROM THE MASSES. WITHOUT CRITICISM, HE SAYS, "THERE WILL BE MORE AND MORE MISTAKES, AND AFTER A CERTAIN TIME OLD ACCOUNTS WILL BE SETTLED. THEN THERE WILL BE TROUBLE."
- 3. CHEN'S MOST INTERESTING REMARK IS A SHARP ATTACK ON THOSE WHO CREATE THE NOTION OF "ONE GREAT AND THREE REDUCTIONS." HE ELABORATES THAT THE "THREE REDUCTIONS" MEAN REDUCED RATIONS, SEED, AND FODDER. CHEN DOES NOT EXPLAIN WHAT THE "ONE GREAT" MEANS; POSSIBLY IT IS A DISPARAGING REFERENCE TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. CHEN SEEMS TO SAY THAT THIS SLOGAN CROPPED UP IN MAY AND JUNE OF 1972, AND THAT IT CONTINUES TO APPEAR. THE PEASANTS, HE SAYS, DECLARE THAT "WHOEVER CREATES THIS PUBLIC NOTION IS RUNNING CONTRARY TO THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE LIN AND RECTIFY THE STYLE OF WORK...WE MUST CRITICIZE THIS."
- 4. CHEN ALSO REVEALS THAT HE WAS IN WUHAN FROM DECEMBER 12 THROUGH 17. WE HAVE NOT NOTED A REPORT THAT TSENG TURNED OUT TO PLAY HOST FOR HIM DURING THIS TIME AND, LIKE TSENG'S ABSENCE FROM THE CONGRESS FOR CHEN'S ADDRESS, THIS IS A VERY UNUSUAL WAY TO TREAT THE TACHAI HERO AND POLITBURO MEMBER. TSENG REMAINS OUT OF SIGHT SINCE HIS DECEMBER 5 APPEARANCE.
- 5. AS IF AIMED AT COUNTERING SUCH SPECULATION ABOUT TSENG, WUHAN RADIO DECEMBER 23 BELATEDLY CARRIED AN EXTRACT OF A SPEECH TSENG GAVE TO THE CONGRESS (PRESUMABLY 18 DAYS EARLIER ON DECEMBER 5 WHEN THE CONGRESS OPENED, BUT THIS IS NOT CLEAR FROM THE TEXT). TSENG'S REMARKS, REPORTED AT GREAT LENGTH, HEW CLOSELY TO THE CURRENT PEKING LINE AND ARE IMBUED WITH PRAISE FOR THAT LINE AND DEDICATION TO IT. HE ROUNDLY ATTACKS THE LIN PIAO CLIQUE, UPHOLDS THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND CENTRAL LEADERSHIP, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND EXHORTS HIS PROVINCE TO DO BETTER ON THE TASKS BEFORE IT ("THIS IS JUST THE START OF A NEW LEAP FORWARD"). HE QUOTES CHEN FOR A GUIDING REMARK ON LEARNING FROM TACHAI'S MODEL IN AGRICULTURE, BUT DOES NOT INDICATE THAT THE POLITBURO MEMBER IS PRESENT OR EXPECTED AT THE CONGRESS. TSENG'S REMARKS, AS REPORTED, END WITH A CALL FOR THE CADRE TO WILLINGLY ACCEPT MASS CRITICISM, AND HE ASKS THE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONGRESS TO PUT FORWARD CRITICISM AND TO "SUPERVISE US TO DO OUR WORK WELL."

6. THE BROADCASTING OF TSENG'S SPEECH SUGGESTS THAT HIS POSITION
IS STILL VIABLE. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CONGRESS, HOWEVER, ARE
ANOMALOUS AND THE SITUATION IN HUPEH CONTINUES TO BEAR WATCHING.
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